236 Wool is also very important to the economy of Awlad Ali. Lamb's
286 wool is either sold or spun and woven into rugs. Goat's wool is spun and woven to provide the cover for the tents.

231 Sheep and goats are rarely slaughtered for meat except on special
[262] occasions. Most male and many female lambs and kids are sold in the
[432] market and the money is used to buy the necessary supply of food (like
[438] tea, sugar, salt, etc.), clothes, and other household items. Most of
438 these items are obtained from the shops in the settled communities in
439 the area, although some of the major items can be obtained only from
443 large urban centers like Alexandria.

231 The other domesticated animals that Awlad Ali keep are the donkey
492 for transport and riding, a few camels for heavy transport and also for
[236] wool, very few horses for riding on special occasions (they are con-
[554] sidered as a status symbol for those who own them), and the dog to guard the camp and to protect the herds from wolves and other predators.
235 Poultry are usually kept for meat and eggs which are sometimes sold by
432 the women in the nearby markets.

233 The main occupation in the area is stock raising. Grazing lands
137 extend generally south of the cultivated land in the northern strip.
[132] The growth of pasture plants is affected by the amount of rainfall in a particular year. Low rainfall causes acute shortages of pasture and herbage, and leads to the death of animals by both starvation and thirst. Pasture plants comprise a wide variety of bushes, scrub, and many other species of grasses, most of which have a very short life span. These plants normally persist from December to May; then the land is turned into arid, hard desert with only a few dispersed patches of dry grass.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

632 communities. They are strangers to each other who meet but
369 do not mix. There is a barrier between them and each distrusts
641 the other. Nevertheless there is a measure of economic interdependence between them, and the tribes and the towns affect each other politically. In Turkish times the urban population,
632 which, as we have seen, was small and contained a high pro-
439 portion of Jews, was engaged in trade and domestic industries.
438 The townsmen bought from the Bedouin animals, hides, wool,
369 clarified butter, honey, beeswax, and ostrich feathers (ostriches were still hunted in the southern steppe in those days), and they supplied the Bedouin with those things he required but could not, or would not, make for himself: tea, sugar, rice, cloth, horseshoes, musket balls, flints, gunpowder, and earthenware. The urban craftsmen also made leather goods, manufactured salt from sea water, and conducted trade and exchange. Imports came by sea from Tripoli, Marseilles, London, Malta, Alexandria, and Crete, and overland from Alexandria.

But the townsmen of Cyrenaica never dominated the country as they dominate most of the Arab lands, where through usury, intimidation, monopoly of trade, and influence in the administration and the courts they have reduced the countryman to the position of landless labourer or *métayage* serf. There was nothing in the Bedouin way of life which gave an opening to the usurer. Moreover, the towns had no monopoly of trade for, if necessary, the Bedouin could, since they were self-supporting in necessities, either go without urban supplies or obtain them overland from Egypt, as they showed during their war with the Italians. Consequently there were no rich landowning families
[565] living in the towns at the expense of the country-side, no aghas, beys, and pashas; and an educated middle class hardly existed outside the small official circle and lacked both wealth and influence. In general it may be said that in Cyrenaica the towns were not parasites on the country, but had their proper functions as trading centres and suppliers of the needs of the Bedouin population. The markets were free, not tied to town societies.

632 Nor could the Bedouin be coerced by force or law. The tribes
*648 were largely inaccessible and they were stronger than the towns,
369 even with the administration behind them. The Bedouin were not afraid of the Turkish Administration, which sat very lightly on their shoulders, and they did not use the courts. The

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

degree and is ephemeral, so that the opportunity for the development of trade relations is absent.[1] Save for straying animals, a section has no urgent need to seek relationships with others, as long as the rainfall is sufficient to permit the exploitation of local resources.

The tertiary section is also regarded as the corporate group *par excellence*, in which ' the one word does for all '. Corporate identity is conceptualized as ' one body ' or ' one body '. An offence against one of its members is held to be an offence against all; if one of its members is killed ' we all lose blood '. When one of its members commits homicide the responsibility falls on all equally. Blood money, when received, is shared by all save for a special portion reserved for the ' owner of the blood ', the nearest agnate of the victim. In opposite circumstances, all adult males accept the responsibility of contributing an equal share to the blood money. Rules of membership, simple in their brevity, express graphically this corporate identity: ' You must strike with us and be struck with us; you must pay with us and receive with us.' The group also bears a name, and there is never any doubt about the affiliation of any tribesman. That group of men—known as the '*amarā dam*—who are agreed on the obligation to exact vengeance, to pay blood money when necessary, to engage in common defence, and to accept the possibility of death in vengeance, is a fixed and clear-cut group, not one whose membership has to be calculated by reference to degrees of kinship in regard to a specific situation, as appears to be the case among other peoples.

Homicide within the '*amarā dam* brings about an impasse in relationships. A blood-money payment is out of the question since the acceptance of blood money by one part of a tertiary section from another of its parts is tantamount to a statement of split. Only in conditions where relationships within the lineage have developed to the point of political severance is it anticipated that a blood-money payment may be demanded; but this problem is not the same as that at present under discussion. Bedouin say that blood money cannot pass within the '*amarā dam* for those making the payment would be the persons receiving it. This is spurious reasoning, since the ' owner of the blood ' is awarded more than any other members of the group as it is, and arrangements could obviously be made to pay him separately. Blood money is out of the question because it distinguishes relationships between people as belonging to two distinct political communities, and not because of any difficulty of distribution. In Bedouin thinking, an injury to ' the one body ' is an injury to all its parts. Blood-money payments by members of a corporation to one or more of its members is a contradiction in terms. In the same way vengeance is also excluded, for this merely doubles the original loss. A reprisal exacted in hot blood is always a possibility, but this is not referred to as *thār*, vengeance. Even if, at a later date, the closest kinsman of the victim should slay the offender, the act would not be referred to as *thār* and any connexion with earlier homicides would be denied.

Stultified in the field of political action, there is little else that can be done. Expulsion is a possible course of action—and expulsion has occurred. Records show, however, that exile is almost invariably voluntary.[2] Moreover, exile is terminated as

[1] Many sections trade fleeces for dates with the folk of distant oases, but the sections do not trade among themselves.

[2] I recorded one case of a man who was expelled from his group and the tribes around were warned that the rules of sanctuary were not to apply to him. He is said to have died from grief and hunger. The reason given for such drastic action is that he killed

9: Murray E, K-3, 4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9 Egypt

Had the Senussi been successful in the last war, they would no doubt have brought in the 'Ibeidat or the 'Awaqir from Cyrenaica to replace the Awlad 'Ali in Egypt.

At the present day the Awlad 'Ali, especially the eastern sections near the Nile Valley, have almost ceased to be nomadic, and only the old men have memories of their former warlike habits. They suffered considerably during the Great War, but are again becoming prosperous. They now own large comfortable tents, are beginning to build houses and clear out cisterns, and are also said to be increasing in numbers.[1] So civilized have they grown that my guides, one a Sinai Arab and the other an 'Abadi, concurred in calling them "green"—not real desert-worthy Bedouins.

Perhaps as a result of Libyan influence, or more probably the better nurture and climate, they are taller, heavier, stronger, and lighter-complexioned than the lightly built Arabs of Sinai and Hijaz. Also they are much franker and more straightforward than their shifty and suspicious eastern cousins, and altogether more trustworthy. Their women only veil themselves to strangers, and talk quite naturally and cheerfully to the men of their own tribe.

They cultivate as much barley as they can, using a primitive plough drawn by camels, in the clayey hollows scattered over their very stony limestone desert, but, as the rainfall is very uncertain, a good crop only occurs every five or six years. After harvest, they exchange some of their barley for maize, which the women grind to make bread as required, and some for dried dates. The seed for next year is buried in a hole lined with straw and covered with clay, and a year's forage for the animals is set aside. The rest of the crop goes to market, and for a short time the Arab has money to buy clothes for himself and his family and at utmost need to pay off some of the numerous debts he has inherited from his forefathers. Soon he is reduced again to the clothes he wears, the tent he sleeps in, and his animals grazing in the desert.

They are great breeders of camels and sheep, and a busy traffic in these goes on weekly in the markets of Hammam, 'Amriya, and the Beheira. So they have got into the habit

[1] At the 1927 census, the Western Desert Arabs, Awlad 'Ali, Jawabis, etc., numbered 38,928 souls exclusive of those settled in Beheira. But Pacho, 100 years ago, estimated them at 38,000 souls.